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‘A University Set on a Hill Overlooking One of the Richest Cities’: Stirling Maxwell, Spanish Culture and the University of Glasgow*

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On 27 April 1876, Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818–1878) stood up to address the Senate and the General Council of the University of Glasgow on his installation as their Chancellor to hearty cheers and a rendition of ‘For he’s a jolly good fellow!’¹ (Figure 1). The warmth of his reception had much to do with the role he had played in supporting recent reforms in the governance of the universities in Scotland and in gaining the franchise for graduates of Scottish universities. Added to this, Stirling revitalized the appeal for the remaining funding required to finish the University’s new building to the West of the city (Figure 2).

Nowadays, Sir William’s best-known link with the University is through his outstanding collection of emblem books which was bequeathed under the terms of the will of his son, Sir John Stirling Maxwell (1866–1956), whilst his fame is due principally to his scholarship and collecting of Spanish art.² Sir William’s ambitious three-volume *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848)

* I am grateful to colleagues in Archives and Special Collections at the University of Glasgow and in Glasgow Archives, Mitchell Library, for their help in the preparation of this article

1 See ‘University of Glasgow: Graduation Ceremony. Sir William Stirling-Maxwell’s Inaugural Address’, *Glasgow Herald*, 28 April 1876, in *Extracted from Newspapers Relative to University of Glasgow Buildings at Gilmorehill*, compilation by William H. Hill. University of Glasgow Archives (hereafter GUA), 21935. The subject of this article is variously referred to here as ‘William Stirling’ and ‘Sir William Stirling Maxwell’. The hyphen is used only in relevant bibliographical references.

2 For his biography, see Hilary Macartney, ‘Maxwell, Sir William Stirling, Ninth Baronet (1818–1878)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2004; online 2006), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/26537>> (accessed 11 November 2016).

was the first contextual history of Spanish art in any language. Arranged chronologically according to the reigns of the monarchs, it showed the relationship of art to the history, politics, religion and literature of Spain generally. The limited-edition volume of photographs which accompanied the text volumes made it the first ever photographically illustrated book on the history of art.³ His collection of Spanish art was equally impressive, and was the largest ever created in the United Kingdom. Though much of it is now dispersed, a substantial core of the collection of Spanish paintings remains at Pollok House, Glasgow, now the property of Glasgow Museums (Glasgow Life) and administered with the National Trust for Scotland.⁴

Much less well known is Stirling's interest in education, and in particular, in Higher Education in Scotland. He served on Scottish Universities Commissions, as Rector of the Universities of St Andrews (1862–1865) and Edinburgh (1871–1874), and as Chancellor (1875–1878) as well as Dean (1857–1859) of the University of Glasgow. He was also elected to the Senate of the University of London in 1868.⁵ This article examines his contribution to Higher Education reform in relation to his links with the University of Glasgow, which were closer and more extensive than has previously been recognized. The second part of the article focuses on his physical legacy, in the form of the Stirling Maxwell Collection now in Special Collections in the University Library, and, using several major Spanish examples, shows the significance of these works within Stirling's own collecting and scholarship and for continuing research, learning and teaching across a range of fields, including the study of Early Modern European and Hispanic emblems, festivals and illustrated books and their techniques.

3 William Stirling, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 3 vols of text & conventionally printed illustrations (London: John Ollivier, 1848); Vol IV: *Talbotype Illustrations to the Annals of the Artists of Spain*, limited edition of fifty presentation copies. For the facsimile and critical edition of this Volume IV, see *Copied by the Sun: Talbotype Illustrations to the Annals of the Artists of Spain*, ed. Hilary Macartney & José Manuel Matilla, 2 vols (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado/CEEH, 2016).

4 The presence of the Spanish art collection at Pollok House has, in turn, led to the Stirling Maxwell Research Project, a collaboration between the University, Glasgow Museums, the Museo Nacional del Prado and the Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, with core funding from Santander Universities. See <<http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/cca/research/arhistoryresearch/projectsandnetworks/stirlingmaxwellresearchproject/>> (accessed 20 March 2017).

5 For the London University Senate election, see Correspondence of April–May 1868, Stirling of Keir Papers, Glasgow Archives, T-SK 29/18/29 & 123–24. Further references to the papers are cited by the call reference including the prefix T-SK. The Stirling of Keir Papers were purchased by Glasgow Life in 2015, with the help of Heritage Lottery Funding and additional funding from the University of Glasgow and from the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*.

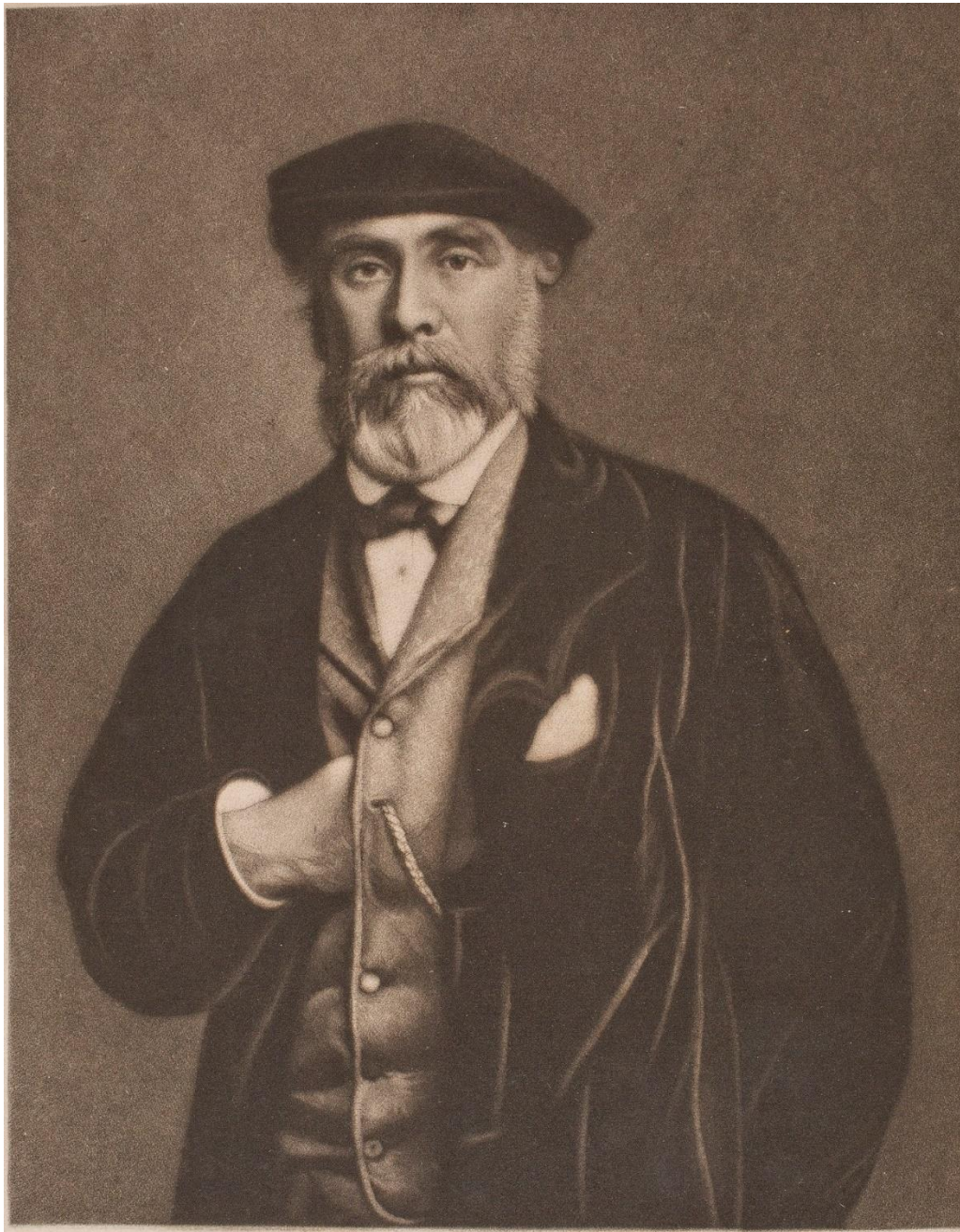


Figure 1
Sir William Stirling Maxwell, c.1870. Mezzotint engraving by R. B. Parkes, from a photograph by Thomas Rodger. Works of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, VI: Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses (London: John Nimmo, 1891), frontispiece illustration. Photo: Hilary Macartney.

I

Stirling, Higher Education Reform and Glasgow University

Stirling's links with the University of Glasgow began in 1857, five years after he became Conservative MP for Perthshire, with his election as Dean of Faculties, an honorary role then generally filled by an MP.⁶ His term as Dean of Faculties coincided with historic reforms to the governance of Scottish universities proposed by the Universities (Scotland) Act in 1858. Charged with reporting on its progress in the House, he promised to give it his 'special attention'.⁷ These reforms included provision for the establishment of the General Council, which gave a voice to the Scottish Universities' graduates and a greater say for the senior academic staff. They also gave new powers to the University Court in the running of the universities in Scotland.⁸

The creation of General Councils strengthened calls for parliamentary representation for graduates of Scottish universities. In 1854, James Lorimer, a correspondent of Stirling's who became Professor of Law at the University of Edinburgh, published *The Universities of Scotland Past, Present, and Possible*, an essay calling for many of the reforms that were eventually carried out in a series of university commissions and higher education bills.⁹ The same year, the Association of Scottish Graduates also campaigned for parliamentary representation for the Scottish universities.¹⁰ Stirling championed the cause in a speech in Parliament in July 1861, during a debate on the redistribution of seats. Arguing that education and intelligence should be considered one of the bases of electoral right, he asked why 'the Glasgow whiskey dealers, the Marylebone publicans, the freemen of London or Liverpool, or the forty shilling freeholders of South Lanarkshire' should have the franchise, when the only opportunity for graduates of Scottish universities to cast their vote was in the elections of university Rectors, who were frequently prominent politicians.¹¹ In fact, Oxford,

⁶ Minutes of the Senate of the University of Glasgow, 1 May & 5 May 1857, GUA, SEN 1/1/6 1845–59, Vol. 90, 337 & 339. For the history and function of the office, see 297–99.

⁷ Minutes of the Senate, Glasgow University, 28 April & 15 May 1858, GUA, SEN 1/1/6 1845–59, Vol. 90, 354.

⁸ For a concise account of the reforms in relation to the University of Glasgow, see A. L. Brown & Michael Moss, *The University of Glasgow: 1451–1996* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U. P. for the University of Glasgow, 1996), 28–30.

⁹ James Lorimer, *The Universities of Scotland Past, Present, and Possible; with an Appendix of Documents Relating to the Higher Instruction* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1854).

¹⁰ A 'Memorial of the Glasgow Section of the Association of Scottish Graduates' was read and approved at a meeting of the Glasgow University Senate, 20 March 1854. See Minutes of the Senate, GUA, SEN 1/1/6, 1845–59, Vol. 90.

¹¹ William Stirling, *Speech on Moving the Omission of Clause I, of the Appropriation of Seats Bill, for the Purpose of Inserting Other Clauses Providing Parliamentary Representation for the Universities of Scotland, Delivered in the House of Commons, on the 1st of July, 1861, by Wm Stirling Member for Perthshire* (London: Parker, Son & Bourn, 1861), 13. The tradition

Cambridge and Dublin already had two University MPs each.¹² Nevertheless, Stirling's proposal was rejected, though his speech attracted much attention, and two parliamentary seats were finally allocated to the four Scottish universities in 1868.¹³

Appropriately, Sir William was the first Chancellor of the University of Glasgow to be elected by the General Council rather than the Senate. In its report on the inauguration of the new Chancellor in 1876, the *Glasgow Herald* applauded Sir William's election: 'No better choice could have been made', observing that he was 'more of a scholar [...], more devoted to culture than to the art of governing men, and more happy in presiding in Academic groves'.¹⁴ In his speech, Stirling also referred to the honour of being elected 'by a constituency so large, so various, and so intelligent', and outlined the evolution of the office which, for more than two centuries following the University's foundation in 1451, had been held by bishops who considered it 'an appanage of their Episcopal state'.¹⁵ He likewise took the opportunity to voice his approval of another recent reform—the sweeping away, 'by the action of healthy public opinion' and the Act of Parliament in 1853, of 'religious tests which so long [...] narrowed the choice of teachers' in Scottish universities.¹⁶

The issue of women's rights to Higher Education was also a burning topic in universities at the time. Stirling's support for this cause would have been well known through his inaugural speech as Rector of the University of Edinburgh in 1872. There, the debate was particularly prominent, due to the campaign led by Sophia Jex Blake for the right of women medical students

of elections of Rectors as openly political contests began with the election of Sir Robert Peel at the University of Glasgow in 1835.

12 Stirling, *Speech on [...] Parliamentary Representation for the Universities of Scotland*, 1861, 5.

13 The seats, one for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and one for Edinburgh and St Andrews, were created under the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act 1868. The seats were replaced by the Combined Scottish Universities Constituency, which elected three seats from 1918 until its abolition in 1950. See Michael Dyer, *Men of Property and Intelligence: The Scottish Electoral System Prior to 1884* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996). The University of London was granted one seat under the Reform Act 1867.

14 *Glasgow Herald*, 29 April 1876, in *Extracted from Newspapers*, compiled by Hill, GUA, 21935.

15 Sir William Stirling Maxwell, 'Chancellor's Address, Glasgow', in *Works of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Bart.* 6 vols (London: John Nimmo, 1891), VI, *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses*, 437–59 (p. 438). See also letters to Stirling from the Principal and Vice-Chancellor John Caird (T-SK 29/25/27–28, n.d.–3 June 1875).

16 The religious tests on prospective university professors and officers debarred members of non-established churches and non-believers. Under the Universities (Scotland) Act 1853, holders of non-theological posts were asked only to declare that they would not seek to subvert established church doctrine. Requirements were further relaxed in the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889, and abolished except for specific theology posts in 1932. See Francis Lyall, *Church and State in Scotland: Developing Law* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 138–39.

to be awarded degrees and thus be licensed to practise medicine.¹⁷ Stirling declared himself 'for teaching women everything that they desire to learn; for opening to them the doors of the highest oral instruction as wide as the doors of book learning'.¹⁸ On the specific question of Medicine, he was likewise clear: 'So long as it is probable that women will continue to minister to their sick children and husbands, [...] I must hear some argument more convincing than I have yet heard why they are to be debarred from learning the scientific grounds of the art of which they are so often the empirical practitioners'.¹⁹ And on practising Medicine, 'the experience of other countries has settled the question. The medical profession is [...] successfully exercised by many women, both in America and on the Continent of Europe'.²⁰ The impasse, however, remained that there was no precedent for conferring degrees on women. Stirling believed the matter could be solved by parliamentary means, though the impediments to women being awarded degrees continued for some years.²¹

The question of women's education was linked to Stirling's vision of a society in which everyone was better educated. His views on such matters would, no doubt, have been discussed with the writer Caroline Norton, who became Sir William's second wife in 1877. Her campaigns for mothers' rights to custody of their children and for married women's rights to property, including after divorce or separation, were the result of bitter personal experience and a humiliating, high-profile divorce case, but had led to the Infant Custody Act (1839) and the Matrimonial Causes Act (1857).²² Female suffrage was also being discussed at this time, notably in a bill brought before the House of Commons in 1875 by the Conservative MP William Forsyth, which created division amongst potential supporters, due to its exclusion of

17 On Jex Blake and the University of Edinburgh, see <<http://www.ed.ac.uk/medicine-vet-medicine/about/history/women/sophia-jex-blake-and-the-edinburgh-seven>> (accessed 28 November 2016). See also Shirley Roberts, *Sophia Jex Blake: A Woman Pioneer in Nineteenth-Century Medical Reform* (London: Routledge, 1993).

18 Sir William Stirling Maxwell, 'Rectorial Address, Edinburgh', in his *Works*, VI, *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses*, 407–35 (pp. 428–29).

19 Stirling, 'Rectorial Address, Edinburgh', 430–31.

20 Stirling, 'Rectorial Address, Edinburgh', 431.

21 Stirling, 'Rectorial Address, Edinburgh', 435. Sir William did not vote at a meeting of the University of London Senate on an amendment concerning the education of women in 1874. The wording was equivocal and the amendment defeated. The University of London admitted women to its degrees from 1878 (see Francis Michael Glenn Willson, *The University of London, 1858–1900: The Politics of Senate and Convocation* [Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004], 114). In Scotland, regulations for the instruction and graduation of women were finally drawn up in the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889.

22 On Caroline Norton, see K. D. Reynolds, 'Norton, Caroline Elizabeth Sarah [other married name Caroline Elizabeth Sarah Stirling Maxwell, Lady Stirling Maxwell] (1808–1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2004; online: 2014), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/20339>> (accessed 27 December 2016). Detailed studies include Diane Atkinson, *The Criminal Conversation of Mrs Norton* (London: Preface, 2012).

married women. Stirling was absent from the chamber at the time of the vote, but his diary entry for 7 April 1875 shows his opposition to its exclusion clause. He believed the time would come for further extension of the suffrage to women as well as men, though he hoped progress in education would come first.²³

In his speech as Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, Stirling welcomed the University's expansion as evidence of educational progress which echoed the growth of the flourishing commercial and industrial city. Numbers of students and professors were increasing, and some of the new branches of study were 'closely connected with the practical business of this great community'—such as Civil Engineering and Mechanics.²⁴

The University had 'far out-grown' the site it had occupied in what was by then 'one of the busiest and least attractive quarters of the city', and transferred in 1870 to its 'new and splendid home on the airy heights of a western hill'. Only Sir William, with his background in Spanish culture and scholarship, would have thought of comparing the University of Glasgow with the University of Alcalá de Henares. Both were fifteenth-century foundations—Alcalá dating from 1499—and had the only deserted university campuses Stirling had visited. To help fund the new campus, Glasgow's Old College had been sold to the Glasgow Union Railway Company, which took possession of the site in July 1870. In his speech, Stirling referred to a visit to the recently vacated site, and likewise to the campus at Alcalá, which was 'one of the most melancholy spots in Europe' when he visited it in 1849, for the future of its decaying buildings and the institution itself was then far from secure.²⁵ Glasgow had been but a 'humble seminary' in the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, compared with Alcalá, which rivalled Bologna and Oxford as a seat of learning in the reign of Philip II. As it opened the portals of its Gilmorehill site to 'new throngs and modern activities', Glasgow was now enjoying a hey-day similar to that of Alcalá in the sixteenth.²⁶

23 Diary of Sir William Stirling Maxwell, 7 April 1875, T-SK 28/16/6. See also Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1993 [1st ed. 1989]), 110–13.

24 Stirling, 'Chancellor's Address, Glasgow', 440.

25 Stirling, 'Chancellor's Address, Glasgow', 443. In fact, the historic core of Alcalá was saved and became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1998, whereas Glasgow's Old College, which was considered to include some of the finest seventeenth-century architecture in Scotland, was demolished.

26 Stirling, 'Chancellor's Address, Glasgow', 443.

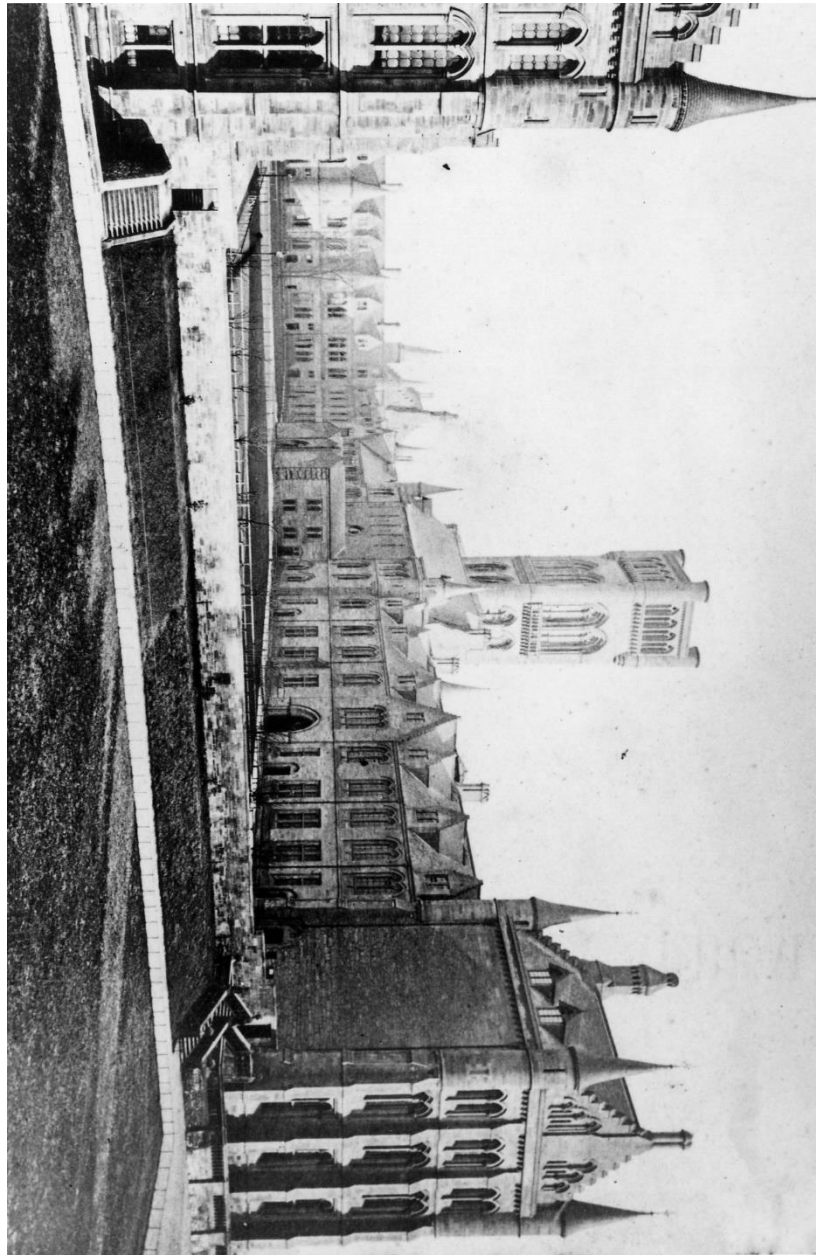


Figure 2

University of Glasgow, Gilmorehill Campus, First Phase. Designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott.

Photograph by an unknown photographer, 1872.

Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Archives, PHU 11/12A.

In 1864, the commission for Glasgow University's new building was given to Sir George Gilbert Scott, the most fashionable architect in the Gothic Revival style. A vigorous fundraising campaign was organized, to which Stirling donated £1,000 in February 1866.²⁷ As one of several Scottish MPs in a deputation led by the then Chancellor of the University, the Duke of Montrose, to meet the Prime Minister, Lord Derby, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Benjamin Disraeli, in 1867, Stirling argued for the 'just and reasonable petition' of the University in seeking government help to cover the shortfall in funding raised.²⁸ Though a substantial government contribution was secured in 1868, costs escalated. By 1876, only the first phase of Scott's 'great citadel of learning' had been completed: the western side of the quadrangles remained open, and neither the Great Hall (which became the Bute Hall) nor the spire had been built (Figure 2).²⁹ The project was severely hampered by lack of funding and threatened to become an embarrassment. Although he permitted himself a further contrast with Alcalá, whose architect, Maestro Pedro Gumiel, was nicknamed 'El Honrado' because he never exceeded his estimates,³⁰ Stirling presented a powerful defence of the benefits of Scott's ambitious design, and why it should be supported: 'If stately and sumptuous architecture be ever appropriate to an important public building, where could it be more properly displayed than in a University set on a hill overlooking one of the richest cities in the world?'³¹ Arguing for the educational benefits of aesthetic surroundings, he believed that 'the development of [...] higher capacities and noblest aspirations deserves and demands all that art can do for it'. Citing Milton's *Il Penseroso*, he claimed that 'the outward circumstances influence the heart and character of youth', and that it was, therefore, wise to 'invest our seats of learning with [...] comeliness and grace'.³²

Sir William also led by example by donating another £2000 towards completion of the new building, a gesture welcomed by the *Glasgow News*, which reminded readers that 'generosity of the sort is greatly required if the University is to be redeemed from its present unfinished state. Were they completed, the buildings would be a credit and an ornament to Glasgow and to Scotland; in their present condition they are neither one nor the other'.³³

27 See Ledger of Subscriptions for the New College Buildings, GUA, 17149, 114. The sum might be equivalent to £44,000 approx. today; see <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp>> (accessed 29 January 2017).

28 *Daily Mail*, 6 May 1867, in *Extracted from Newspapers*, compiled by Hill, GUA, 21935.

29 See Nick Haynes, *Building Knowledge: An Architectural History of the University of Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland/Glasgow: Univ. of Glasgow, 2013), 79.

30 Stirling, 'Chancellor's Address, Glasgow', 443.

31 Stirling, 'Chancellor's Address, Glasgow', 444.

32 Stirling, 'Chancellor's Address, Glasgow', 444–45.

33 *Glasgow News*, 23 April 1876, in *Extracted from Newspapers*, compiled by Hill, GUA 21935.

Stirling's action helped re-energize the funding campaign, which also included the 'wooing' of the 3rd Marquis of Bute, whose large donation, and the bequest of the marine engineer Charles Randolph, enabled the new building to be completed with the splendour Stirling would have considered appropriate.³⁴



Figure 3
Keir Library, 1860. Tinted lithograph by M. & N. Hanhart, after a drawing by Robert Frier, in William Stirling, *An Essay towards a Collection of Books Relating to Proverbs, Emblems, Apophthegms, Epitaphs and Ana: Being a Catalogue of Those at Keir* (London: privately printed, 1860), frontispiece illustration. Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, BD17-e.5.

³⁴ Haynes, *Building Knowledge: An Architectural History of the University of Glasgow*, 82.

II

The Stirling Maxwell Collection of Illustrated Books, University of Glasgow

The most tangible legacy of Sir William's links with the University is the Stirling Maxwell Collection of books now housed in Special Collections in the University of Glasgow Library. He collected in two principal areas: emblems, proverbs and mottoes on the one hand; and books on art and design on the other; and he produced catalogues of both of these.³⁵ In his lifetime, the books were housed in his magnificent, purpose-designed library at Keir House, Perthshire (Figure 3), and his London house. After the death of Sir William's son, Sir John Stirling Maxwell in 1956, Dame Anne Maxwell Macdonald (Sir John's daughter), decided to dispose of part of the contents of the library. A codicil of Sir John's will required that, in any proposed sale of the books from his library, these should first be offered as a gift to the University, and thus resulted in the University Library being 'enriched by the addition of some 2,000 volumes of great interest and value'.³⁶ The additions to the University Library holdings included some 1,200 emblem books and around 300 festival books, and the Library has continued to add to the collections in these fields. The emblem books represent the largest collection anywhere created by one collector, and have had a major impact on the development of the modern interdisciplinary field of Emblem Studies.³⁷ Within the University, interest in them prompted the formation of the Centre for Emblem Studies in the 1990s, now the Stirling Maxwell Centre for the Study of Word/Image Cultures, whilst the Sir William Stirling Maxwell Fellowships attract scholars from around the world to study the collection. Projects for the study and digitisation of parts of the collection have included books of Italian and French emblems, and those of Andrea Alciato which established the genre.³⁸

To date, there has been little study by scholars of Sir William as a bibliophile, and of the relationship between his book collecting and his other

³⁵ William Stirling, *An Essay towards a Collection of Books Relating to Proverbs, Emblems, Apophthegms, Epitaphs and Ana: Being a Catalogue of Those at Keir* (London: privately printed, 1860); and his *An Essay towards a Collection of Books Relating to the Arts of Design: Being a Catalogue of Those at Keir* (London: privately printed, 1850; 2nd ed. 1860).

³⁶ Minutes of the University of Glasgow Court, 16 December 1957, GUA, C1-1-65, 133. Not all the books from the portion disposed of were acquired by the University—many were dispersed through two sales. See *Catalogue of Important Printed Books and An Illuminated Manuscript, the Property of the Trustees of the Late Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bt., K.T.* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., 20–23 May 1958); and *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters and Documents from the Libraries of [...] Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, and Others* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., 19 November 1958).

³⁷ The first international conference on Emblem Studies was held at the University of Glasgow in 1987, and led to the foundation of the International Society for Emblem Studies, as well as to an annual publication series edited at the University, *Glasgow Emblem Studies* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow).

³⁸ For the emblem books collection and projects, see <<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/>> (accessed 3 December 2016).

areas of interest.³⁹ The links between his emblem books and his outstanding collection of Spanish art, for example, might yield fruitful insights. Most of the Spanish authors of emblem literature are represented in the collection, often in multiple—and sometimes in very rare—editions.⁴⁰ Rarities include the first Spanish emblem book compiled by a native, Juan de Borja's *Empresas morales* (1581), which was the only copy Stirling had ever seen when he bought it in Madrid in 1864.⁴¹ Juan de Borja (1533–1606), son of St Francis Borja, Duke of Gandía, was a Spanish envoy to the courts of the Emperors Maximilian II and Rudolph II in 1575–1581. His emblem book was issued in Prague in the latter year by one of that city's most prolific printers, Jiří Černý (Jorge Nigrin), and was thus also the first such book to be printed in Czech/Bohemian territories. Whereas many emblem books were cheaply printed, Borja's *Emblemas* is a fine production, printed in black with red borders, and containing a hundred engraved emblems in ornate frames, each accompanied by a prose text or *subscriptio*. Many of these are signed with the monogram EH, identified as that of Erasmus Hornick, a Flemish goldsmith and engraver active in Augsburg and Nuremberg before being appointed imperial goldsmith in Prague in 1582.⁴² The designs include a number of delightful animal motifs. No. 83 'Ingratos Natura Abhorret', depicting an alligator lying on its back having its teeth picked by a bird, is an interesting early example of the incorporation of New World species into the conventions of European animal symbolism, as, according to Borja, this inter-species symbiotic relationship was observable in the West Indies (Figure 4). When the alligator closed its jaws to eat its avian dentist, however, the bird would use the sharp, bony crest on its head to jab the host's palate till the alligator was forced to open its mouth and the bird would fly out, thus proving the *inscriptio* that 'Nature Abhors the Ungrateful'.

39 The notable exception is David Weston, *William Stirling Maxwell and the European Emblem: An Exhibition, Glasgow University Library, 27 July–24 September, 1987* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Library, 1987). See also David Weston, 'A Brief Introduction to the Stirling Maxwell Collection of Emblem Books at the University of Glasgow' (April 2011), <http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_197709_en.pdf> (accessed 3 December 2016).

40 See Pedro Campa, *Emblemata Hispanica: An Annotated Bibliography of Spanish Emblem Literature to the Year 1700* (Durham, NC: Duke U. P., 1990); and <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/hispanica/emblems.html>> (accessed 3 December 2016).

41 GUL, S.M. 204, note in Stirling's hand on the flyleaf. See also <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/hispanica/emblems.html>>.

42 For the monogram, see Lubomír Konečný, 'La ilustración de las *Empresas morales* de Juan de Borja: Erasmo Hornick', *Ars Longa: Cuadernos de Arte*, 3 (1992), 9–12. Previously, the linked initials were erroneously read as 'EI'. See also '*Empresas morales*' de Juan de Borja: *imagen y palabra para una iconología*, ed. Rafael García Mahiques (València: Ajuntament de València, 1998), 'Nota a la presente edición', [v], n. 1.



Figure 4
Ingratos Natura Abhorret. Engraving by or directed by Erasmus Hornick, in
Juan de Borja *Empresas morales* (Praha: Jiří Černý, 1581), No. 83.
Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, S.M. 204.

Some of the emblem books hold added significance due to their provenance and history, such as Stirling's copy of the first Spanish translation of Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (Lyons, 1549), by Bernardino Daza, later professor of law at Valladolid.⁴³ Four previous owners can be identified, including Raphael Abenyacar, a sixteenth-century Jewish *converso*. The others reflect nineteenth-century collecting: W. B. Chorley, whose library of Spanish books was sold in 1846; Richard Ford, author of the *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain, and Readers at Home* (London: John Murray, 1845) and one of Stirling's closest friends; and J. W. Rimington, whose library of emblem books was the largest Stirling had seen in 1869.

The collection of Early Modern European festival books has remained less well known. Stirling's interest in the two genres was closely linked, since emblems were a key element of the decorative schemes of royal and religious celebrations, and an essential tool for reinforcing their intended message. Indeed, festival books often contain the only record of site- and event-specific emblematic material. The linkage of the festival books to the emblem books collection was continued in the inclusion of the former in the University's published catalogue, and the festival books have not yet been catalogued separately.⁴⁴ The majority record special events such as royal marriages, funerals and triumphal entries relating to the Habsburg dynasty, and reflect Stirling's interrelated interests not only in emblems and in the construction of the royal image, but also in the role of artists in the service of the state, and the design and printing of Early Modern illustrated books.

43 Andrea Alciato, *Los emblemas traducidos en rhimas españolas*, trad. Bernardino Daza (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1549), GUL, S.M. 32a.

44 Hester Black & David Weston, *Short Title Catalogue of the Emblem Books and Related Works in the Stirling Maxwell Collection of Glasgow University Library (1499–1917)* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1988). A separate catalogue is a long-term aim following a project on the festival books collection in collaboration with the University of Málaga.

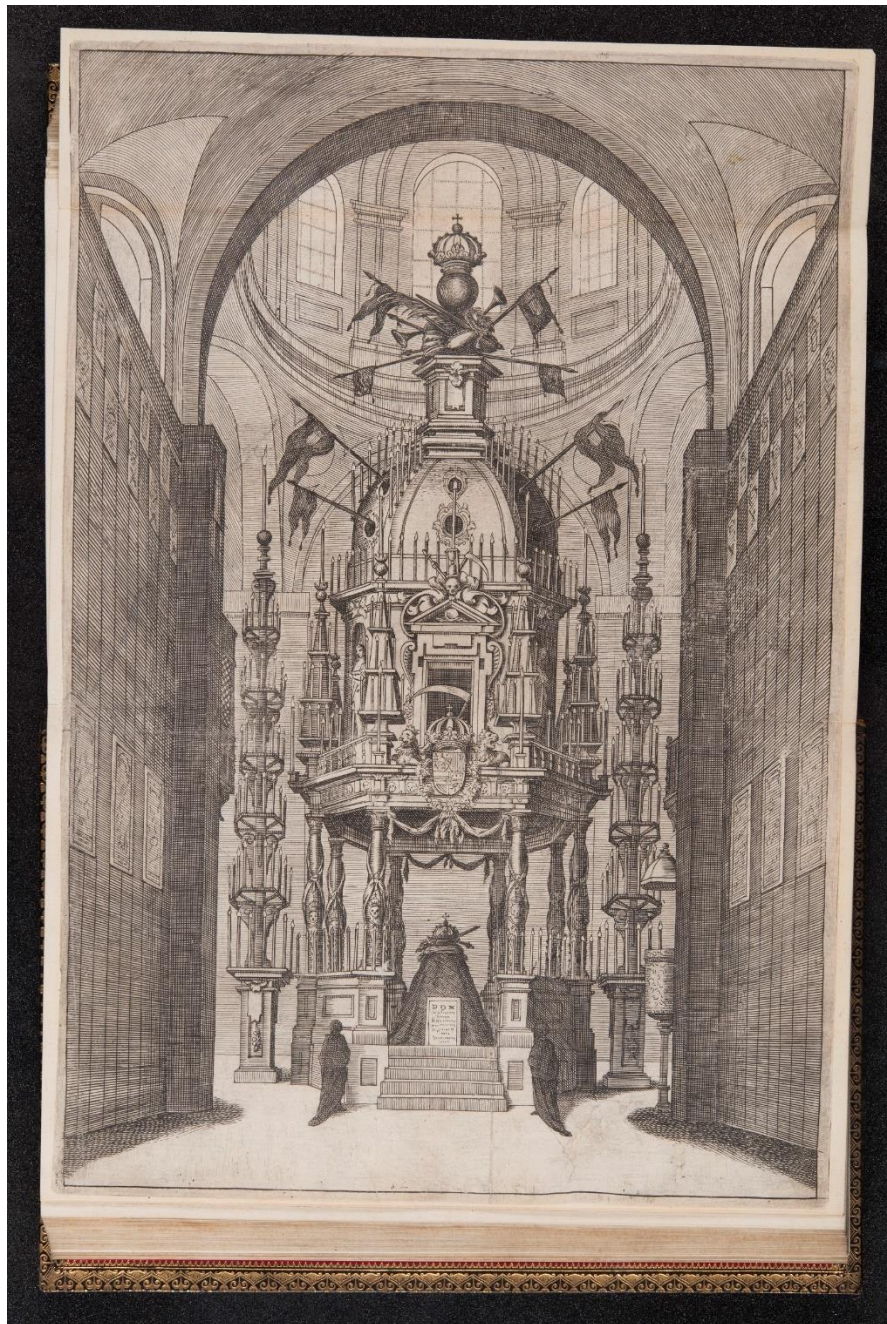


Figure 5

Funerary Catafalque of King Philip IV. Designed by Sebastián Herrera Barneuvo.

Engraving by Pedro de Villafranca, in

Pedro Rodriguez de Monforte, *Descripcion de las honras que se hicieron [a] D. Phelippe quarto Rey [...] en el Real Conuento de la Encarnacion* (Madrid: Francisco Nieto, 1666), folding plate between fols 71–72.

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One of the finest festival books produced in Spain, as regards quality of illustrations, was Pedro Rodriguez de Monforte's book on Philip IV's funeral, *Descripcion de las honras que se hicieron ala Catholica Magd. de D. Phelippe quarto Rey [...] en el Real Conuento de la Encarnacion* (1666), with engravings by Pedro de Villafranca (1615–1684).⁴⁵ Stirling had noted in the *Annals* that Villafranca was one of the few Spanish artists of the time to become 'addicted [...] rather to the graver than the pencil', and praised the 'neatness and dexterity' of his engravings, finding them 'spirited and firm'.⁴⁶ Apart from emblems and coats-of-arms, Villafranca's illustrations for Monforte's book include a folding plate depicting the funerary catafalque designed by Sebastián Herrera Barnuevo and erected within the church of the Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid (Figure 5). Two dark-robed mourners provide scale. Also noticeable is the profusion of lighted tapers and torches which, according to the text, numbered 1,700. The author confided his fear of fire breaking out due to the heat generated amongst flammable materials in a confined space, but also reassured the readers of provision for firefighting in the event of accident.⁴⁷

The wealth of possibilities in interpreting the relationship between word and image was certainly a factor in Stirling's becoming an important early collector of Goya. His acquisitions included a rare copy of the series of etchings now generally known as *Los Disparates* and dated c.1816–1821. It was included in Stirling's 1860 catalogue, *An Essay towards a Collection of Books Relating to Proverbs, [etc.]*.⁴⁸ There, he provisionally entitled it '[Los Proverbios de Goya]', and observed that, though there was no title-page, '[t]hese etchings of grotesque subjects are supposed to illustrate Spanish Proverbs, and are known in Spain by the above title', which was also the title given in the edition published by the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in 1864.⁴⁹ Stirling had already pointed to proverbs as providing clues to the interpretation of at least two of the eighty prints of Goya's *Los*

45 Pedro Rodriguez de Monforte, *Descripcion de las honras que se hicieron ala Catholica Magd. de D. Phelippe quarto Rey de las Españas y del nuevo mundo en el Real Conuento de la Encarnacion* (Madrid: Francisco Nieto, 1666), GUL, S.M. 1455.

46 Stirling, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, II, 725, 726. As no mention is made of Monforte's book, Stirling's copy was evidently acquired after publication of the *Annals*.

47 Rodriguez de Monforte, *Descripcion de las honras*, 69^v.

48 For full details of this catalogue, see note 35. See also Hilary Macartney, 'Sir William Stirling Maxwell: Scholar of Spanish Art', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma: Historia del Arte*, VII:12 (1999), 287–316 (pp. 306–07); Jesusa Vega, 'Los Disparates: una colección de veintidós láminas', in *Disparates: tres visiones*, ed. Juan Carrete & José Manuel Matilla (Madrid: Calcografía Nacional, 1996), 19–32; and Nigel Glendinning, 'La problemática historia de los *Disparates* y su interpretación carnavalesca', in *Francisco de Goya grabador: instantáneas*, ed. Juan Carrete & Álvaro Martínez, 4 vols (Madrid: Calcografía Nacional/Caser, 1992), II, *Disparates*, 19–32 (pp. 21–23).

49 See Stirling, *An Essay towards a Collection of Books Relating to Proverbs, [etc.]*, 41; and Tomás Harris, *Goya: Engravings and Lithographs*, 2 vols (Oxford: Cassirer, 1964), I, 193–96.

Caprichos in his copy of the first edition of these now in Glasgow University Library. Bought in Seville in 1845, this copy includes a sheet of 'Memoranda on the "Caprichos de Goya" given me by Don Bartolomé José Gallardo', whom Stirling described as 'a well known man of letters & book collector who knew Goya well'.⁵⁰ The entry for no. 12 'A caza de dientes' reads 'Illustration of the Spanish Proverb/"Es capaz de sacar los dientes ad un ahorcado" '. This exemplar of Goya's mastery of etching and aquatint (another dental allusion) shows a fashionably dressed young woman extracting teeth from a hanged man as she holds a cloth to her averted face (Figure 6).⁵¹ The Stirling–Gallardo interpretation is similar to that in other manuscript commentaries circulated with the prints, some of which expound further on No. 12, suggesting that it illustrates the lengths to which a woman would go to get what she wants, particularly a lover, or the use of such teeth in witchcraft. The plate has also been interpreted as one of several references to the Duchess of Alba in the *Caprichos*, or to *La Celestina*.⁵² The other title linked to a Spanish proverb in Stirling's 'Memoranda' is No. 23, 'Aquellos polbos', an allusion to 'Aquellos polbos han traido estos lodos', which is one of two plates depicting an auto de fé.⁵³

50 Francisco de Goya, *Los Caprichos* (Madrid: s.n., 1799), GUL, S.M. 1946. The Memoranda are signed with Stirling's initials and dated 6 March 1845. The description of Gallardo is contained in an accompanying bibliographical note also signed by Stirling, which additionally cites Théophile Gautier, 'Fran^{co} Goya y Lucientes', *Cabinet de l'Amateur et de l'antiquaire*, I (1842), 337–66. See also Antonio Rodríguez Moñino, 'Francisco de Goya y Bartolomé José Gallardo: notas sobre sus relaciones', *Academia*, I:2 (1951), 477–89; and Hilary Macartney, 'Stirling, Ford, and Nineteenth-Century Reception of Goya: The Case of the *Santa Justa* and *Santa Rufina*: "Abomination" or "Appropriate Composition"?', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 8:5 (2007), 425–44 (pp. 438–41).

51 Stirling listed *Los Caprichos* in his *An Essay towards a Collection of Books Relating to the Arts of Design*.

52 On *Capricho* no. 12, see also <https://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/a-caza-de-dientes-1/?tx_gbgonline_pi1%5Bquery%5D=a%20caza%20de%20dientes&tx_gbgonline_pi1%5Bgost%5D=b&tx_gbgonline_pi1%5Bgonavmode%5D=search> (accessed 13 December 2016). For the commentaries, see Nigel Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics* (London/New Haven: Yale U. P., 1977), 61–62.

53 See also Gautier, 'Fran^{co} Goya y Lucientes' (1842), 349; and Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 76–77. The reference to dust ('polvos') was also frequently made in relation to witchcraft.



Figure 6

A caza de dientes. Etching, aquatint and chisel (or burin), in Francisco de Goya, *Los Caprichos* (Madrid: s.n., 1799), No. 12. Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, S.M. 1946.

Today, the city of Glasgow's wealth no longer depends on the industry to which Stirling referred in 1876, but on its outstanding cultural capital, such as the unique collections of Spanish art and literature that are his legacy. As this article has documented, the opportunities to study these resources at Glasgow University and in the city's other institutions of culture and learning can also be seen as part of Sir William Stirling Maxwell's legacy.*

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